1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

177 This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.
487 All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however,
177 are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough,
619 the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

166 It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band"
621 without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

177 The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a dif-
621 ferent order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[338] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqâlıspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate-'use,"[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smaka'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'tni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.

802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-

805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine

487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Advcn.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Kliketats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Colin's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Moyne's B. C.*, p. 299; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[175] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[175] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkaní, *soi* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchákat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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